

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 156252

COPENHAGEN FOR S/P DIRECTOR LAKE

CORRECTED COPY PARA 1 LINE 1 GARBLED AND PARA 12 LINE 7 OMITTED

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:OGEN

SUBJECT: JUNE 20 ATLANTIC CITY SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ATLANTIC CITY SPEECH TO BE
CONVEYED TO SENIOR AFRICAN OFFICIALS IN HOST COUNTRY:
--I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
--I WANT TO SPEAK TODAY ABOUT AN AREA OF THE WORLD THAT
HAS BEEN MUCH IN THE NEWS RECENTLY: AFRICA.
--THE HEADLINES OF TODAY ARE ABOUT THE SO-CALLED "TROUBLE
SPOTS"--SOUTHERN AFRICA, ETHIOPIA, ZAIRE, AND ELSEWHERE.
THE DEEPER REALITY OF AFRICA, HOWEVER, INCLUDES MUCH MORE
THAN THE CONFLICTS, CRISES AND FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT THAT
SEIZE OUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. AFRICA IS A HUGE CONTINENT
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WITH GREAT NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES. MOST OF ITS
PEOPLE NOW LIVE IN PEACE AND ARE MAKING STEADY PROGRESS IN
BUILDING THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRENGTH OF THEIR
NATIONS. WE ARE WORKING TO HELP THE NATIONS AND PEOPLE
OF AFRICA IN THIS TASK.
--AFRICAN NATIONS PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS
AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL ARENAS. THEY CAN HELP MAKE THE
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN OUR EFFORTS TO
STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TO CONTROL THE ACCUMU-

LATION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, TO STOP HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION AND TO HELP MANGE THE WORLD'S RESOURCES FOR THE FUTURE.

--AFRICA IS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO US IN EVEN MORE IMMADIATE WAYS. SOME OF YOU BUY AND SELL GOODS THAT REQUIRE COPPER, MANGANESE, COBALT OR POTASH. YOU HAVE COFFEE AND COCOA IN YOUR KITCHENS. AFRICA SUPPLIES US WITH BETWEEN A QUARTER AND ONE HALF OF OUR IMPORTS OF THESE AND MANY OTHER RAW MATERIALS, INCLUDING 40 PCT. OF OUR PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

--SIMILARLY, OUR EXPORTS TO AFRICA ARE INCREASING RAPIDLY. MANY OF YOU COME FROM FARM STATES. YOU HAVE A DIRECT INTEREST IN THE FACT THAT AFRICA PROVIDED A MARKET LAST YEAR FOR WELL OVER ONE BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF US AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

--I WANT TO DESCRIBE TODAY OUR POLICY TOWARD AFRICA, AND HOW IT IS BASED ON AMERICAN INTERESTS AND AFRICAN REALITIES.

--LAST JULY IN A SPEECH ON THE FUTURE OF US AFRICA POLICY I SAID THAT WE CAN BE NEITHER RIGHT NOR EFFECTIVE IF WE TREAT AFRICA SIMPLY AS AN ARENA FOR EAST-WEST COMPETITION. OUR AFRICA POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED. ITS OBJECTIVES REMAIN FORWARD LOOKING AND POSITIVE.

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--PRESIDENT CARTER RESTATED OUR COMMITMENT TO A POSITIVE STRATEGY IN HIS RECENT SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS. HE SAID THAT OUR AFRICA POLICY IS BASED ON AN AFFRIMATIVE APPROACH--AN APPROACH THAT EMPHASIZES WORKING WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA TO HELP RESOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. THE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO SAY THAT OUR GOAL IS AN AFIRCA THAT IS FREE: "FREE OF THE DOMINANCE OF OUTSIDE POWERS, FREE OF THE BITTERNESS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE, FREE OF CONFLICT, AND FREE OF THE BURDENS OF POVERTY, HUNGER AND DISEASE."

--THIS IS OUR VISION OF AFRICA'S FUTURE--A VISION WE SHARE WITH THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA. BUT ITS REALIZATION HAS BEEN COMPLICTAED IN RECENT MONTHS BY CONFLICT AND OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

--THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF LARGE QUANTITIES OF SOVIET ARMS AND THOUSANDS OF CUBAN TROOPS IN CERTAIN PARTS OF AFRICA RAISES SERIOUS CONCERNS. THE SIZE AND DURATION OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE JEOPARDIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN STATES. IT CREATES CONCERN ON THE PART OF AFRICAN NATIONS THAT OUTSIDE WEAPONS AND TROOPS WILL BE USED TO DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF ANY CONFLICT ON THE CONTINENT. AND IT RENDERS MORE DIFFICULT THE EFFORTS OF AFRICANS TO RESOLVE THESE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

--IT WILL NOT BE OUR POLICY TO MIRROR SOVIET AND CUBAN

ACTIVITIESIN AFRICA BECAUSE SUCH A COURSE WOULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE IN THE LONG RUN AND WOULD ONLY ESCALATE MILITARY

CONFLICT WITH GREAT HUMAN SUFFERING. OUR BEST COURSE IS TO HELP RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS WHICH CREATE THE EXCUSE FOR EXTERNAL INTERVENTION AND TO HELP STRENGTHEN THE ABILITY OF AFRICANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES.

--WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS OF A POSITIVE AFRICAN POLICY?

SIMPLY STATED THEY ARE:

--A STRONG US COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA;

--EFFORTS TO HELP RESOLVE AFRICAN DISPUTES PEACEFULLY;

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--RESPECT FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISM;

--SUPPORT FOR LEGITIMATE AFRICAN DEFENSE NEEDS;

AND FINALLY, HELPING TO FOSTER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH STRENGTHENS THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF AFRICAN NATIONS.

--WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH ALL AFRICAN NATIONS TOWARD THESE COMMON GOALS. WE NOW HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALMOST EVERY NATION THERE. WE HAVE NOT BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH LABELS OR CATEGORIES, FOR THESE ARE PARTICULARLY MISLEADING IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT. WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE AFRICA DIVIDED ALONG IDEOLOGICAL OR OTHER LINES.

--LET ME DESCRIBE BRIEFLY HOW WE ARE APPLYING THIS POLICY TO THE AFRICAN ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN.

--FOR A GENERATION, THE ANGUISH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS POSED A SPECIAL CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. OUR OWN SOCIETY HAS STRUGGLED WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS. BUT OUR STRUGGLE REMAINS PROFOUNDLY DIFFICULT, AS INDIVIDUALS OF ALL RACES LOOK INTO THEIR OWN SOULS AND FIND ANSWERS THAT SHAPE THE SOUL OF OUR NATION. WE THUS FEEL A PARTICULAR SYMPATHY FOR THOSE IN SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODISIA WHO ARE GOING THROUGH A SIMILAR STRUGGLE--BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES.

--OUR POLICY TOWARD THE REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA PROCEEDS FROM THE UNMISTAKABLE FACT THAT CHANGE IS COMING. THE GREAT QUESTION IS WHETHER PEACE OR VIOLENCE WILL BE THE INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE. FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEOPLES IN THE REGION AND FOR THE SAKE OF OUR OWN INTERESTS THERE, WE ARE WORKING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BEARS MANY COSTS--IN HUMAN TERMS, IN A LEGACY OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION, IN DAMAGE TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND OUR OWN ECONOMIC INTERESTS, IN THE HARM DONE TO OTHER NATIONS IN THE AREA, AND IN THE EXCUSE IT PRESENTS FOR OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

--WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA, WE HAVE DEVELOPED A PROPOSAL, UNCLASSIFIED

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IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION, THAT WOULD FACILITATE A RAPID AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

THE PLAN PROVIDES FOR BRINGING TOGETHER THE EXTERNAL NATIONALISTS WHO HAVE FORMED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WITH IAN SMITH AND THE BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE JOINED HIM IN AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT". IT ALSO CALLS FOR FREE ELECTIONS, AN IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, AND A CONSTITUTION PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS-- WHITE AND BLACK.

--CONCESSIONS TOWARD PEACE HAVE BEEN MADE BY ALL PARTIES IN THIS GATHERING CONFLICT. HOWEVER, NEITHER SIDE CAN CREATE A NEW NATION, WITH A DECENT CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE, WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE OTHER. AND EACH NOW REJECTS THE OTHER'S CLAIM TO PRE-DOMINANCE DURING THE CRITICAL ELECTION PERIOD.

--IT IS OUR HOPE THAT WE CAN HELP TO BRING THEM TOGETHER, EITHER TO WORK OUT POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES, OR TO AGREE ON A NEUTRAL SOLUTION SUCH AS THE ONE WE HAVE PROPOSED.

--IN THE COURSE OF THESE LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN ASKED TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. WHY, SOME ASK, DO WE NOT SUPPORT THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT"? WHY, OTHERS SUGGEST, DO WE NOT THROW OUR WEIGHT BEHIND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT?

--THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE BUT IMPORTANT. IF WE WERE TO CHOOSE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, THE CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WOULD BE GREATLY DIMINISHED. WE WOULD BECOME A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT RATHER THAN A PARTY TO THE EFFORT TO PREVENT IT. WE WANT TO HELP FIND A WAY FOR ALL GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE, SO THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA CAN FAIRLY DECIDE HOW THEY WILL GOVERN THEMSELVES.

--I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER WE WILL SUCCEED. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT IF WE AND THE GOVERNMENTS WITH WHICH WE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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COOPERATING SHOULD GIVE UP ON OUR EFFORTS, THE DOOR TO PEACE WILL SLAM SHUT, WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES. WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR IMPARTIALITY AMONG ALL THE PARTIES AND CONTINUE TO STAND FOR A FAIR SOLUTION--TO BE REACHED, NOT BY SPILLING BLOOD, BUT BY CASTING BALLOTS.

--IN NAMIBIA, WE ARE ALSO AT A CRITICAL STAGE. FOR OVER A YEAR, THE US HAS JOINED WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND CANADA--WHAT IS CALLED THE CONTACT GROUP--TO ASSURE THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS TERRITORY ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE FAIRLY AND PEACEFULLY AND IN A FASHION WHICH WILL BRING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT.

--SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP PUT FORWARD. BOTH THEY AND THE BLACK NATIONALISTS OF SWAPO AGREE ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT INGREDIENTS FOR A SETTLEMENT.

--FIRST, FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT;

--SECOND, A SUBSTANTIAL UN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PRESENCE TO ENSURE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS FULLY AND FAIRLY IMPLEMENTED; AND
--THIRD, THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES PENDING INDEPENDENCE.

-- IMPORTANT ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED HOWEVER. MISTRUST BETWEEN SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA IS GREAT AND OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS TO REACH A FINAL AGREEMENT.

-- REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, WE AND OTHERS ARE USING WHAT INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO TRY TO PERSUADE ITS LEADERS THAT A FUTURE OF PEACEFUL PROGRESS BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS, THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

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AFRICA, AND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

-- WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT A FAILURE TO BEGIN TO MAKE GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARDS AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS CAN ONLY HAVE AN INCREASINGLY ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONS.

-- OUR POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD. WE HAVE NO WISH TO SEE THE WHITES DRIVEN FROM THE HOME OF THEIR FORBEARS. WE SUGGEST ONLY THAT THEY SEEK A WAY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND JUSTICE WITH THE MAJORITY OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS. SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES, AND NOT JUST ITS WHITE CITIZENS, SHOULD DECIDE THEIR COUNTRY'S FUTURE. WE DO NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE EITHER A TIMETABLE OR A BLUEPRINT FOR THIS PROGRESS. BUT I HOPE, AS DO ALL WHO HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE PROBLEMS ANY SOCIETY ENCOUNTERS IN FACING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, THAT THE BEGINNING OF BASIC PROGRESS WILL SOON BE SEEN.

-- ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, AS WELL, WE ARE SEEKING TO DAMPEN THE FLAMES OF CONFLICT.

-- IN THE HORN OF AFRICA THIS YEAR, DECADES OF BITTER RIVALRY AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS AND NATIONS CULMINATED IN A WAR BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA AND AN ESCALATED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS IN THE PROVINCE OF ERITREA. THESE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED FURTHER BY SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF SOVIET ARMS AND THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN TROOPS. WE HAVE VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED AFRICAN EFFORTS TO MEDIATE THE BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA.

-- PEACE AND STABILITY WILL NOT COME TO THE REGION AS

LONG AS ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA BELIEVE THEY CAN SOLVE
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THEIR PROBLEMS THROUGH MILITARY MEANS. ANY ENCOURAGEMENT BY SOMALIA OF INSURGENT FORCES IN THE OGADEN CAN ONLY INCREASE TENSIONS IN THE REGION. WE BELIEVE THAT A LASTING SETTLEMENT TO THE ERITREAN PROBLEM CAN ONLY COME FROM POLITICAL RECONCILIATION, NOT FROM RECOURSE TO ARMS.

-- CONFLICTS IN THE HORN HAVE DIVERTED MATERIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES FROM THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH AFFECT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE REGION. A GRAVE FAMINE NOW THREATENS OVER A MILLION ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE WITH STARVATION. THE FOOD SITUATION THROUGHOUT THE REGION -- AND AS FAR AWAY AS TANZANIA AND PAKISTAN -- COULD BE WORSENERED BY LARGE SWARMS OF LOCUSTS WHICH ARE NOT BEING ADEQUATELY CONTROLLED. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED A MILLION AND HALF DOLLARS FOR RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE FAMINE AREA. WE ARE ALSO PROCEEDING TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATION WHICH IS CONDUCTING THE FIGHT TO CURB THE SPREAD OF LOCUSTS AND SAVE CROP LANDS.

-- IN ZAIRE, AS IN THE HORN, HISTORICAL DISPUTES AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES HAVE FUELED A SERIOUS CONFLICT.

-- WHEN ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE WAS INVADDED LAST MONTH FROM ANGOLA, WE COOPERATED WITH OTHER NATIONS TO RESCUE THOSE TRAPPED IN THE FIGHTING, TO HELP PRESERVE ZAIRE'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND TO HELP PREVENT ITS ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. WE DEMONSTRATED THAT WE CAN ACT IMMEDIATELY, FIRMLY AND SENSIBLY IN RESPONSE TO AFRICAN REQUESTS.

-- EVEN IF STABILITY IS RESTORED IN SHABA, HOWEVER, IT WOULD NOT FINALLY SOLVE ZAIRE'S PROBLEMS. THAT NATION IS STILL THREATENED BY SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE
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PROSPECT OF TERRITORIAL FRAGMENTATION. THE FUTURE DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON WHAT ZAIRE ITSELF IS WILLING TO DO, WITH THE HELP OF OTHERS, TO MEET THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IT FACES.

-- WE ARE PREPARED, ALONG WITH OTHERS, TO HELP ZAIRE GET BACK ON ITS FEET. BUT THE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A GENUINE EFFORT ON ZAIRE'S PART TO SOLVE ITS LONG-TERM PROBLEMS. INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO ZAIRE WITHOUT INTERNAL ECONOMIC REFORMS WOULD BE FRUITLESS. WESTERN SECURITY ASSISTANCE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE COOPERATION OF ZAIRE IN STRENGTHENING THE MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF ITS ARMED FORCES. AND

UNTIL THERE IS BROADER PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ZAIRE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE REAL STABILITY.

-- IN ADDITION, IF WE ARE TO AVOID MOVE SHABA INCIDENTS IN THE FUTURE, ZAIRE AND ANGOLA MUST REACH AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND NOT TO INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

-- IN THIS CONNECTION, WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE HELPFUL TO INCREASE OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND BEGIN WORKING WITH IT IN MORE NORMAL WAYS IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE, AS WELL AS FOR ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

-- IN THESE AREAS OF CONFLICT, AND IN THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT, WE ARE PURSUING A FIRM AND SENSIBLE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS AND STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH AFRICAN NATIONS. IT COMBINES EFFORTS TO AVOID EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION AND POSITIVE REGIONAL POLICIES THAT RESPOND TO LOCAL REALITIES.

-- LET ME RETURN TO THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF OUR APPROACH:

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- FIRST, WE WILL RELY ON OUR STRENGTHS -- OUR TRADE, AID, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES -- WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS. TO THESE WE HAVE ADDED OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. THESE ARE THE MOST ENDURING ELEMENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND AMERICA. THEY BIND US TO NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR POLICIES THAT AFRICANS KNOW THAT WE SHARE THEIR GOAL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THIS MEANS INCREASING TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN WAYS THAT BENEFIT BOTH AFRICA AND THE US. AND IT MEANS CONTINUING TO INCREASE OUR AID TO AFRICAN NATIONS. WE WILL DO SO BECAUSE THERE IS GENUINE NEED; BECAUSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO OUR OWN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING; AND BECAUSE IT WILL STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN NATIONS.

- THE SECOND ELEMENT OF OUR STRATEGY IS TO WORK WITH OTHERS IN AFRICA AND BEYOND FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES. WE CAN HELP AFRICAN NATIONS AVOID HUMAN SUFFERING AND PREVENT THE DIVERSION OF RESOURCES FROM HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. MOREOVER, A POTENTIAL CONFLICT RESOLVED IS A CONFLICT OF WHICH OTHERS CANNOT TAKE ADVANTAGE. WE WILL HELP TO STRENGTHEN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE OAU WHICH CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN WORKING FOR PEACE.

ULTIMATELY, IT IS AFRICANS THEMSELVES WHO WILL BRING PEACE TO THEIR CONTINENT.

- THIRD, WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESPECT THE GROWING SPIRIT OF AFRICAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, BECAUSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROGRESS AND BECAUSE AFRICANS WILL FIRMLY RESIST YIELDING THEIR HARD-WON INDEPENDENCE
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TO OUTSIDE POWERS. THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS DEMONSTRATES THIS FACT.

- FOURTH, IT HAS BEEN OUR POLICY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO CONSIDER SECURITY REQUESTS FROM AFRICAN NATIONS WITH LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS. OUR FRIENDS IN AFRICA MUST KNOW THAT WE CAN AND WILL HELP THEM TO STRENGTHEN THEIR ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. ANY INCREASE IN AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE DONE PRUDENTLY AND WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF SEEKING ARMS RESTRAINT AND CONCENTRATING OUR ASSISTANCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

- FIFTH, IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, WE HAVE EMPHASIZED OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE NATURE OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN, ARAB AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN. WE HAVE POINTED OUT TO THE SOVIETS THE PROBLEM WHICH THEIR ACTIVITIES POSE FOR AFRICA AND FOR OUR OVERALL RELATIONS. OUR ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE CONCERNS OF THOSE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AFFECTED.

- AND FINALLY, IN AFRICA AS ELSEWHERE, WE WILL WORK ALONG WITH OTHERS OF ALL RACES TO FOSTER RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE THAT CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, AND THE RIGHT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL TO BASIC NECESSITIES SUCH AS DECENT HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION AND FOOD, SHOULD BE RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

-- THE STRATEGY WE ARE PURSUING IS A REALISTIC APPROACH THAT EMPHASIZES OUR STRENGTHS AND ENCOURAGES AN EVOLUTION OF EVENTS THAT IS IN BOTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS AND OUR OWN.
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IT IS A STRATEGY THAT HAS EARNED THE SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

-- WE DO NOT IGNORE THAT THERE IS A RESIDUE OF SUSPICION

AMONG SOME AFRICANS WHO HAVE FOUGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM
THAT OUR POLICY IS SIMPLY A TACTIC AND NOT A REFLECTION
OF A GENUINE COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN NEEDS. ONLY TIME AND
OUR CONTINUED DEMONSTRATION THAT WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY WILL
MEET THIS PROBLEM.

-- WE ARE CONVINCED THAT AN AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH TO AFRICAN
ASPIRATIONS AND PROBLEMS IS ALSO THE MOST EFFECTIVE
RESPONSE TO SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES THERE. ANY OTHER
STRATEGY WOULD WEAKEN AFRICA BY DIVIDING IT. AND IT WOULD
WEAKEN US BY LETTING OTHERS SET OUR POLICIES FOR US.

-- OUR NATION AND THE NATIONS OF AFRICA HAVE MUCH IN COMMON.
WE STRUGGLED HARD FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE AND WE INTEND TO
REMAIN FREE.

-- WE ARE BLESSED WITH GREAT HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES
AND WE INTEND TO DEVELOP THEM FULLY.

-- WE ARE COMMITTED TO RACIAL JUSTICE AND WE INTEND TO
ACHIEVE IT IN OUR LIFETIME.

-- AND WE SHARE A COMMON VISION OF AFRICA'S FUTURE --
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--PRESIDENT CARTER RESTATED OUR COMMITMENT TO A POSITIVE STRATEGY IN HIS RECENT SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS. HE SAID THAT OUR AFRICA POLICY IS BASED ON AN AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH--AN APPROACH THAT EMPHASIZES WORKING WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA TO HELP RESOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. THE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO SAY THAT OUR GOAL IS AN AFRICA THAT IS FREE: "FREE OF THE DOMINANCE OF OUTSIDE POWERS, FREE OF THE BITTERNESS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE, FREE OF CONFLICT, AND FREE OF THE BURDENS OF POVERTY, HUNGER AND DISEASE."

--THIS IS OUR VISION OF AFRICA'S FUTURE--A VISION WE SHARE WITH THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA. BUT ITS REALIZATION HAS BEEN COMPLICATED IN RECENT MONTHS BY CONFLICT AND OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

--THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF LARGE QUANTITIES OF SOVIET ARMS AND THOUSANDS OF CUBAN TROOPS IN CERTAIN PARTS OF AFRICA RAISES SERIOUS CONCERNS. THE SIZE AND DURATION OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE JEOPARDIZES THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN STATES. IT CREATES CONCERN ON THE PART OF AFRICAN NATIONS THAT OUTSIDE WEAPONS AND TROOPS WILL BE USED TO DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF ANY CONFLICT ON THE CONTINENT. AND IT RENDERS MORE DIFFICULT THE EFFORTS OF AFRICANS TO RESOLVE THESE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

--IT WILL NOT BE OUR POLICY TO MIRROR SOVIET AND CUBAN

ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA BECAUSE SUCH A COURSE WOULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE IN THE LONG RUN AND WOULD ONLY ESCALATE MILITARY CONFLICT WITH GREAT HUMAN SUFFERING. OUR BEST COURSE IS TO HELP RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS WHICH CREATE THE EXCUSE FOR EXTERNAL INTERVENTION AND TO HELP STRENGTHEN THE ABILITY OF AFRICANS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES.

--WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS OF A POSITIVE AFRICAN POLICY?

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SIMPLY STATED THEY ARE:

--A STRONG US COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA;

--EFFORTS TO HELP RESOLVE AFRICAN DISPUTES PEACEFULLY;

--RESPECT FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISM;

--SUPPORT FOR LEGITIMATE AFRICAN DEFENSE NEEDS;

AND FINALLY, HELPING TO FOSTER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH STRENGTHENS THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF AFRICAN NATIONS.

--WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH ALL AFRICAN NATIONS TOWARD THESE COMMON GOALS. WE NOW HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALMOST EVERY NATION THERE. WE HAVE NOT BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH LABELS OR CATEGORIES, FOR THESE ARE PARTICULARLY MISLEADING IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT. WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE AFRICA DIVIDED ALONG IDEOLOGICAL OR OTHER LINES.

--LET ME DESCRIBE BRIEFLY HOW WE ARE APPLYING THIS POLICY TO THE AFRICAN ISSUES OF GREATEST CONCERN.

--FOR A GENERATION, THE ANGUISH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS POSED A SPECIAL CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. OUR OWN SOCIETY HAS STRUGGLED WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS. BUT OUR STRUGGLE REMAINS PROFOUNDLY DIFFICULT, AS INDIVIDUALS OF ALL RACES LOOK INTO THEIR OWN SOULS AND FIND ANSWERS THAT SHAPE THE SOUL OF OUR NATION. WE THUS FEEL A PARTICULAR SYMPATHY FOR THOSE IN SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODISIA WHO ARE GOING THROUGH A SIMILAR STRUGGLE--BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES.

--OUR POLICY TOWARD THE REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA PROCEEDS FROM THE UNMISTAKABLE FACT THAT CHANGE IS COMING. THE GREAT QUESTION IS WHETHER PEACE OR VIOLENCE WILL BE THE INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE. FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEOPLES IN THE REGION AND FOR THE SAKE OF OUR OWN INTERESTS THERE, WE ARE WORKING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BEARS MANY COSTS--IN HUMAN TERMS, IN A LEGACY OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION, IN DAMAGE TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND UNCLASSIFIED

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OUR OWN ECONOMIC INTERESTS, IN THE HARM DONE TO OTHER NATIONS IN THE AREA, AND IN THE EXCUSE IT PRESENTS FOR OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

--WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA, WE HAVE DEVELOPED A PROPOSAL, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION, THAT WOULD FACILITATE A RAPID AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

THE PLAN PROVIDES FOR BRINGING TOGETHER THE EXTERNAL NATIONALISTS WHO HAVE FORMED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WITH IAN SMITH AND THE BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE JOINED HIM IN AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT". IT ALSO CALLS FOR FREE ELECTIONS, AN IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, AND A CONSTITUTION PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS--WHITE AND BLACK.

--CONCESSIONS TOWARD PEACE HAVE BEEN MADE BY ALL PARTIES IN THIS GATHERING CONFLICT. HOWEVER, NEITHER SIDE CAN CREATE A NEW NATION, WITH A DECENT CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE, WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE OTHER. AND EACH NOW REJECTS THE OTHER'S CLAIM TO PREDOMINANCE DURING THE CRITICAL ELECTION PERIOD.

--IT IS OUR HOPE THAT WE CAN HELP TO BRING THEM TOGETHER, EITHER TO WORK OUT POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES, OR TO AGREE ON A NEUTRAL SOLUTION SUCH AS THE ONE WE HAVE PROPOSED.

--IN THE COURSE OF THESE LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN ASKED TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. WHY, SOME ASK, DO WE NOT SUPPORT THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT"? WHY, OTHERS SUGGEST, DO WE NOT THROW OUR WEIGHT BEHIND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT?

--THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE BUT IMPORTANT. IF WE WERE TO CHOOSE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, THE CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WOULD BE GREATLY DIMINISHED. WE WOULD BECOME A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT RATHER THAN A PARTY TO THE EFFORT TO PREVENT IT. WE WANT TO HELP FIND A WAY FOR ALL GROUPS

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TO PARTICIPATE, SO THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA CAN FAIRLY DECIDE HOW THEY WILL GOVERN THEMSELVES.

--I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER WE WILL SUCCEED. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT IF WE AND THE GOVERNMENTS WITH WHICH WE ARE COOPERATING SHOULD GIVE UP ON OUR EFFORTS, THE DOOR TO PEACE WILL SLAM SHUT, WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES. WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR IMPARTIALITY AMONG ALL THE PARTIES AND CONTINUE TO STAND FOR A FAIR SOLUTION--TO BE REACHED, NOT BY SPILLING BLOOD, BUT BY CASTING BALLOTS.

--IN NAMIBIA, WE ARE ALSO AT A CRITICAL STAGE. FOR OVER A YEAR, THE US HAS JOINED WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND CANADA--WHAT IS CALLED THE CONTACT GROUP--TO ASSURE THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS TERRITORY ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE FAIRLY AND PEACEFULLY AND IN A FASHION WHICH WILL BRING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT.

--SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP PUT FORWARD. BOTH THEY AND THE BLACK NATIONALISTS OF SWAPO AGREE ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT INGREDIENTS FOR A SETTLEMENT.

--FIRST, FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS FOR THE PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT;

--SECOND, A SUBSTANTIAL UN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN PRESENCE TO ENSURE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS FULLY AND FAIRLY IMPLEMENTED; AND

--THIRD, THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES PENDING INDEPENDENCE.

-- IMPORTANT ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED HOWEVER. MISTRUST BETWEEN SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA IS GREAT AND OUR REPRESENTATIVES ARE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS TO REACH A FINAL AGREEMENT.

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-- REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, WE AND OTHERS ARE USING WHAT INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO TRY TO PERSUADE ITS LEADERS THAT A FUTURE OF PEACEFUL PROGRESS BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS, THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

-- WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT A FAILURE TO BEGIN TO MAKE GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARDS

AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS CAN ONLY HAVE AN INCREASINGLY ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR RELATIONS.

-- OUR POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD. WE HAVE NO WISH TO SEE THE WHITES DRIVEN FROM THE HOME OF THEIR FORBEARS. WE SUGGEST ONLY THAT THEY SEEK A WAY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND JUSTICE WITH THE MAJORITY OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS. SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES, AND NOT JUST ITS WHITE CITIZENS, SHOULD DECIDE THEIR COUNTRY'S FUTURE. WE DO NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE EITHER A TIMETABLE OR A BLUEPRINT FOR THIS PROGRESS. BUT I HOPE, AS DO ALL WHO HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE PROBLEMS ANY SOCIETY ENCOUNTERS IN FACING FUNDMENTAL CHANGE, THAT THE BEGINNING OF BASIC PROGRESS WILL SOON BE SEEN.

-- ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, AS WELL, WE ARE SEEKING TO DAMPEN THE FLAMES OF CONFLICT.

-- IN THE HORN OF AFRICA THIS YEAR, DECADES OF BITTER RIVALRY AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS AND NATIONS CULMINATED IN A WAR BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA AND AN ESCALATED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS IN THE PROVINCE OF ERITREA. THESE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED FURTHER BY SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF SOVIET ARMS AND THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN TROOPS. WE HAVE VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED AFRICAN EFFORTS TO MEDIATE THE BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN SOMALIA AND UNCLASSIFIED

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ETHIOPIA.

-- PEACE AND STABILITY WILL NOT COME TO THE REGION AS LONG AS ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA BELIEVE THEY CAN SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS THROUGH MILITARY MEANS. ANY ENCOURAGEMENT BY SOMALIA OF INSURGENT FORCES IN THE OGADEN CAN ONLY INCREASE TENSIONS IN THE REGION. WE BELIEVE THAT A LASTING SETTLEMENT TO THE ERITREAN PROBLEM CAN ONLY COME FROM

-- CONFLICTS IN THE HORN HAVE DIVERTED MATERIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES FROM THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH AFFECT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE REGION. A GRAVE FAMINE NOW THREATENS OVER A MILLION ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE WITH STARVATION. THE FOOD SITUATION THROUGHOUT THE REGION -- AND AS FAR AWAY AS TANZANIA AND PAKISTAN -- COULD BE WORSENERED BY LARGE SWARMS OF LOCUSTS WHICH ARE NOT BEING ADEQUATELY CONTROLLED. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED A MILLION AND HALF DOLLARS FOR RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE FAMINE AREA. WE ARE ALSO PROCEEDING TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATION WHICH IS CONDUCTING THE FIGHT TO CURB THE SPREAD OF LOCUSTS AND SAVE CROP LANDS.

-- IN ZAIRE, AS IN THE HORN, HISTORICAL DISPUTES AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES HAVE FUELED A SERIOUS CONFLICT.

-- WHEN ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE WAS INVADDED LAST MONTH FROM ANGOLA, WE COOPERATED WITH OTHER NATIONS TO RESCUE THOSE TRAPPED IN THE FIGHTING, TO HELP PRESERVE ZAIRE'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND TO HELP PREVENT ITS ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. WE DEMONSTRATED THAT WE CAN ACT IMMEDIATELY, FIRMLY AND SENSIBLY IN RESPONSE TO AFRICAN REQUESTS.

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-- EVEN IF STABILITY IS RESTORED IN SHABA, HOWEVER, IT WOULD NOT FINALLY SOLVE ZAIRE'S PROBLEMS. THAT NATION IS STILL THREATENED BY SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE PROSPECT OF TERRITORIAL FRAGMENTATION. THE FUTURE DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON WHAT ZAIRE ITSELF IS WILLING TO DO, WITH THE HELP OF OTHERS, TO MEET THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IT FACES.

-- WE ARE PREPARED, ALONG WITH OTHERS, TO HELP ZAIRE GET BACK ON ITS FEET. BUT THE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A GENUINE EFFORT ON ZAIRE'S PART TO SOLVE ITS LONG-TERM PROBLEMS. INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO ZAIRE WITHOUT INTERNAL ECONOMIC REFORMS WOULD BE FRUITLESS. WESTERN SECURITY ASSISTANCE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE COOPERATION OF ZAIRE IN STRENGTHENING THE MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF ITS ARMED FORCES. AND UNTIL THERE IS BROADER PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ZAIRE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE REAL STABILITY.

-- IN ADDITION, IF WE ARE TO AVOID MOVE SHABA INCIDENTS IN THE FUTURE, ZAIRE AND ANGOLA MUST REACH AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND NOT TO INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

-- IN THIS CONNECTION, WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE HELPFUL TO INCREASE OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND BEGIN WORKING WITH IT IN MORE NORMAL WAYS IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ANGOLA AND ZAIRE, AS WELL AS FOR ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

-- IN THESE AREAS OF CONFLICT, AND IN THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT, WE ARE PURSUING A FIRM AND SENSIBLE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS AND STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH AFRICAN NATIONS. IT COMBINES EFFORTS TO AVOID EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION AND POSITIVE REGIONAL POLICIES THAT RESPOND TO LOCAL REALITIES.

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-- LET ME RETURN TO THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF OUR APPROACH:

- FIRST, WE WILL RELY ON OUR STRENGTHS -- OUR TRADE, AID, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES -- WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS. TO THESE WE HAVE ADDED OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. THESE ARE THE MOST ENDURING ELEMENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND AMERICA. THEY BIND US TO NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR POLICIES THAT AFRICANS KNOW THAT WE SHARE THEIR GOAL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THIS MEANS INCREASING TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN WAYS THAT BENEFIT BOTH AFRICA AND THE US. AND IT MEANS CONTINUING TO INCREASE OUR AID TO AFRICAN NATIONS. WE WILL DO SO BECAUSE THERE IS GENUINE NEED; BECAUSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO OUR OWN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING; AND BECAUSE IT WILL STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN NATIONS.

- THE SECOND ELEMENT OF OUR STRATEGY IS TO WORK WITH OTHERS IN AFRICA AND BEYOND FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES. WE CAN HELP AFRICAN NATIONS AVOID HUMAN SUFFERING AND PREVENT THE DIVERSION OF RESOURCES FROM HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. MOREOVER, A POTENTIAL CONFLICT RESOLVED IS A CONFLICT OF WHICH OTHERS CANNOT TAKE ADVANTAGE. WE WILL HELP TO STRENGTHEN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE OAU WHICH CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN WORKING FOR PEACE. ULTIMATELY, IT IS AFRICANS THEMSELVES WHO WILL BRING PEACE TO THEIR CONTINENT.

- THIRD, WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESPECT THE GROWING SPIRIT
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OF AFRICAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, BECAUSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROGRESS AND BECAUSE AFRICANS WILL FIRMLY RESIST YIELDING THEIR HARD-WON INDEPENDENCE

TO OUTSIDE POWERS. THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS DEMONSTRATES THIS FACT.

- FOURTH, IT HAS BEEN OUR POLICY SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO CONSIDER SECURITY REQUESTS FROM AFRICAN NATIONS WITH LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS. OUR FRIENDS IN AFRICA MUST KNOW THAT WE CAN AND WILL HELP THEM TO STRENGTHEN THEIR ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. ANY INCREASE IN AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE DONE PRUDENTLY AND WILL BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF SEEKING ARMS RESTRAINT AND CONCENTRATING OUR ASSISTANCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

- FIFTH, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, WE HAVE EMPHASIZED OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE NATURE OF SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND WE HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN, ARAB AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND MEMBERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN. WE HAVE POINTED OUT TO THE SOVIETS THE PROBLEMS WHICH THEIR ACTIVITIES POSE FOR AFRICA AND FOR OUR OVERALL RELATIONS. OUR ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES AND WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE CONCERNS OF THOSE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AFFECTED.

- AND FINALLY, IN AFRICA AS ELSEWHERE, WE WILL WORK ALONG WITH OTHERS OF ALL RACES TO FOSTER RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE THAT CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, AND THE RIGHT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL TO BASIC NECESSITIES SUCH AS DECENT HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION AND FOOD, SHOULD BE RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

-- THE STRATEGY WE ARE PURSUING IS A REALISTIC APPROACH
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THAT EMPHASIZES OUR STRENGTHS AND ENCOURAGES AN EVOLUTION OF EVENTS THAT IS IN BOTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS AND OUR OWN. IT IS A STRATEGY THAT HAS EARNED THE SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

-- WE DO NOT IGNORE THAT THERE IS A RESIDUE OF SUSPICION AMONG SOME AFRICANS WHO HAVE FOUGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM THAT OUR POLICY IS SIMPLY A TACTIC AND NOT A REFLECTION OF A GENUINE COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN NEEDS. ONLY TIME AND OUR CONTINUED DEMONSTRATION THAT WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY WILL MEET THIS PROBLEM.

-- WE ARE CONVINCED THAT AN AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH TO AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS AND PROBLEMS IS ALSO THE MOST EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES THERE. ANY OTHER STRATEGY WOULD WEAKEN AFRICA BY DIVIDING IT. AND IT WOULD WEAKEN US BY LETTING OTHERS SET OUR POLICIES FOR US.

-- OUR NATION AND THE NATIONS OF AFRICA HAVE MUCH IN COMMON. WE STRUGGLED HARD FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE AND WE INTEND TO REMAIN FREE.

-- WE ARE BLESSED WITH GREAT HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES AND WE INTEND TO DEVELOP THEM FULLY.

-- WE ARE COMMITTED TO RACIAL JUSTICE AND WE INTEND TO ACHIEVE IT IN OUR LIFETIME.

-- AND WE SHARE A COMMON VISION OF AFRICA'S FUTURE --
WHERE AFRICAN HOPES AND DREAMS FOR A BETTER LIFE AND FOR PEACE HAVE BECOME A REALITY. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

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